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in Lower Post, and on December 26th we boarded the bus for the railhead at Dawson Creek. Analysis of the material was begun toward the end of my stay in the field and completed in New Haven. A description of Kaska culture and ethos, containing a large part of the material in the present monograph, was submitted in 1946 to the Graduate School of Yale University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The preparation of this final report was generously aided by a University Fellowship.

Acknowledgment is made to the Department of Anthropology and to the Peabody Museum of Yale University for funds enabling me to carry out two seasons of field work among the Kaska Indians. To the faculty of the Department of Anthropology I am indebted for unceasing stimulation, criticism, and encouragement. I must particularly mention the intellectual inspiration received from Professor Cornelius Osgood during my graduate years at Yale, and the help provided by Professor Clellan S. Ford in formulating a description of the analytical method which I followed in this study of Kaska culture and ethos. Professors George P. Murdock, Wendell C. Bennett, and Irving Rouse also read portions of the manuscript and made important suggestions. To my colleagues, the students in the department, I wish to express appreciation for their patience and interest in listening to the many expositions of the successive stages of this research project. I am also deeply obliged to my wife who, despite natural misgivings, ventured to try the northern winter and, by her presence and cooperation, greatly facilitated my work. Her interest, aid, and penetrating criticism were particularly valuable during the analysis and description of the data. David and Karen also contributed, their company in the field serving to throw light on many aspects of native child and adult behavior. A number of people, by their friendship and hospitality, promoted our comfort in the North. Among these I must refer to the resident Catholic missionaries, members of the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception, Father Pierre A. Poullet, who generously placed his home at our disposal when we returned to Watson Lake Airport in December, and Father Bernard Arsenault. I can also not forget to mention Hans Anderson, Clarence Millspaugh, and Bill Strong, traders; and the trappers, Leo Cormier, Fred Herbert, Knute Hillgren, Nick Fronick, Llewellyn Phillips, Ben Makinson, and others, who, by their many kindnesses, facilitated and enlivened our stay in Lower Post.

Finally there are my friends among the Upper Liard Indians. Without their generosity in providing us with shelter, guidance, meat, fish, and, when our food stores ran low, lending us "grub," I would not have been able to finish this work adequately. Since I was taken completely into the confidence of some of these people, and because the data contain highly personal and intimate material, it is necessary to preserve the anonymity of the members of this group. Therefore fictitious names have been employed for all my informants.

New Haven, 1946. JOHN J. HONIGMANN

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When the process of analysis was completed, there came the task of describing the operation of the world of meanings by selecting behavioral examples of its operation. In thus describing the emotional characteristics of Kaska behavior as demonstrating the operation of the world and self-views, we were occupied in describing Kaska ethos.

One more problem was set at this point—the analysis of the development of Kaska ethos. This analysis was particularly concerned with intensifying one aspect of the study of the ethnographic data. That is, we were here concerned with inferring the dominant motivations as psychological results of socialization situations. However, as Kardiner also discovered, we found it impossible to derive with any adequate validity the basic motivations from only the analysis of this portion of the life cycle.[20] Instead it was necessary for the analysis to include knowledge of motivation which had already been inferred from a wide variety of adult activities. When this was done it was found possible to match certain psychological results of socialization with dominant motivations inferred from adult activities.

A description, called "Development of the Ethos," was then written of the relationship of the psychological results of socialization to adults' dominant motivations.

INFORMANTS

The principal individuals who will be referred to in the following pages, the informants and subjects of the study, are listed below for ready identification. Heads of families have been numbered and brought out to the margin while their children, if unmarried and still living, are indented thereunder. The only exceptions to this procedure have been made in the case of adults (like John Kean and the Wiley sisters) who, even though currently unmarried, maintain their own homes for at least part of the year. All these persons were previously married and are now divorced or widowed. Ages, in some cases given in years and months, are indicated in parentheses. The bracketed numbers, following the ages of a few family heads, refer to parents still alive at the time when field work was begun. Moiety membership (expressed as Wolf or Crow) is indicated where such affiliation is generally recognized; children belong to the mother's moiety.

1. Ardo, Eva (20). A Dease River Indian who is orphaned and lives with various brothers and sisters. Eva was married shortly before we left Lower Post in August 1945. Several years previously she had given birth to an illegitimate child which had died. Wolf.
2. Barve, Billy (56). A Dease River Indian living with his second wife. Wolf.
   a. ———, Daisy (43). A Nelson Indian and a half-sister of Nick, Peter, and Xavier Lang but full sister of Mildred Lang. She has been married many times.
   Jane (12), Willy (8), Helen (3)
3. Crow, Edward (45). A Nelson Indian.
   a. ———, Mrs. (40). Crow.
   James (13), Dan (11), Mary (9), Jack (6), Eddie (4)
4. Crow, Harvey (28). A Nelson Indian.
   a. ———, Beatrice (18) [sic].
   Baby (1)

[20] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), xiv.

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5. Day, Richard (17). A *métis* who early in life, lost his mother and was raised by his white father. He traps with his mother's brother, Edward Prince. Wolf.
6. Dickson, Mrs. (c. 55). The widow of a white man, she lives with her daughters and a son-in-law some distance from Lower Post. Little intensive contact was had with this family.
7. Donnelly, Hans (30) [27]. Unlike his mother, he is known by his father's name. Born at Frances Lake, he joined the Liard River Indians following his marriage. Crow.
   a. ———, Paulette (22) [18]. A previous infant was lost to this quarter Cree woman. Wolf.
   Terese (1)
8. Joe, River (63). A part Tlingit and part Liard River Indian who was widowed in the fall of 1944. He was married to one of Skipper's sister's daughters, a *métise*, and hence all of his children are one quarter white. Many of his children have died. Crow.
   Bud (c. 35), who is in a mental hospital; Ted (20), Flower (17)
9. Kean, John (32) [11]. He lost one wife through a miscarriage and was later separated from her sister. Both women were daughters of Old Man and were John's maternal cross-cousins. Crow.
10. Kean, Nitla (26) [11]. He spent most of his life around Frances Lake where he was raised by Old Metla following the death of his mother immediately after childbirth. His life and personality are presented in Appendix A.[80] Crow.
    a. ———, Adele (22). Although her father now traps at Frances Lake, she was born a Lower Pelly River Indian. She married Nitla after having had an illegitimate son who is now living with her father. A third child was lost to her at birth. Wolf.
    Anne (2)
11. Kean, Old (74). Originally he came from the Mackenzie slope many years ago. He married one of Old Man's sisters and is now designated an Upper Liard Indian. One other son, Louis, lives at Frances Lake. Classified Wolf.
12. Lang, Harry (31) [22]. Originally a Nelson Indian, he was educated in boarding school and then joined the Upper Liard Indians following his marriage. His life and personality are presented in Appendix A.[81] Classified Crow.
    a. ———, Anna (21) [18]. Formerly married to John Kean, she is one quarter Cree. Wolf.
    Roger (5), Lenny (1.3)
13. Lang, Mildred (45). She is married to a white man and has adopted Stella Wiley's daughter, Anne, being childless herself. A half sister of Nick, Peter, and Xavier Lang, she is the maternal aunt of Harry Lang.
14. Lang, Nick (37). A Nelson Indian who has been twice widowed and is raising two sons. His two wives were daughters of Skipper.
    Mack (8), Boxer (7)
15. Lang, Peter (41). A Nelson Indian. He was also twice married and lost both women through death. His two wives were daughters of the current Mrs. Man.
    Elsie (11), who was adopted by Mrs. Man; Marie (4)
16. Lang, Xavier (47). A Nelson Indian.
    a. ———, Josephine (43) [11]. Her child is by a former marriage. Crow.
    Jack Kean (12), who spends most of his time with his maternal grandfather, Old Kean.
17. Leonard, Dick (42). A Tahltan Indian who accepted his brothers-in-laws' invitation to trap on the Cross line. Crow.

[80] Below, pp. 350–354.
[81] Below, pp. 330–340.

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a. ———, Thelma (35). A Nelson Indian.
Ralph (15), who died in 1945; Gerald (14), Joyce (11), Bill (7), Nora (5), Thelma (2)

18. Man, Old (51). An Upper Liard Indian of mixed Indian ancestry who was early orphaned and spent the greater part of his youth in the service of white men. He has been married three times, his first two wives being sisters and half-Cree women from Fort Nelson. His life and personality are presented in Appendix A.[42] Crow.
a. ———, Mrs. (62). A Slave woman from Fort Liard who married her present husband seven years ago. She has no living children. Classified Wolf.
Louisa (15), Old Man's only unmarried daughter; for a brief personality sketch see Appendix A.[42]

19. Maza, Louis (37). Born a Dease River Indian, he joined the Upper Liard tribe following his marriage to his maternal cross-cousin. Old Man is Louis' father's brother. Crow.
a. ———, Allie (26) [8]. A quarter white Upper Liard Indian. Eleanor is her husband's daughter by a previous marriage to her sister and Marie is Allie's child by a white man and therefore three-quarters white. Wolf.
Eleanor (14), Marie (9), Loreen (3), Sonny (0.8)

20. Metla, Old (c. 70). Originally a Nelson Indian, she had passed most of her life at Frances Lake before her death in the Liard River valley during the winter of 1945.

21. Mountain, Dick (c. 32). A Dease River Indian.
a. ———, Annie (c. 25) [2].
Annette (8), Billy (5), Minny (4), Davis (2)

22. Nolan, John (30). A quarter white Indian who was born of a Bear Lake (Sekani) mother and a Kaska father. He now traps along the Muddy River. Wolf.
a. ——, Alice (20). Part Nelson and part Dease River Indian. Crow.
Eric (2), Ernest (0.6)

23. Nolan, Marie (24). A quarter white Indian who is married to a white man whose trap line is along the Muddy River.

24. Plover, Dorothy (22). An illegitimate child, she was raised by her Tahltan stepfather near Dease Lake. She is married to a much older white man. Her two children are illegitimate and half white. Dorothy's life and personality are presented in Appendix A.[44] Crow.
David (3), Conway (0.2)

25. Prince, Edward (27). A Nelson Indian. Wolf.
a. ———, Lois (21). A Nelson Indian who lost one child through miscarriage. Crow.

26. Skipper (72). A Dease River Indian. He now lives with his two young granddaughters. Wolf.

27. Suza, Lady (45) [20]. A widow whose deceased husband's English name was Donnelly. She was born a Nelson Indian but has spent most of her life at Frances Lake. She is a maternal aunt of Nick, Peter, and Xavier Lang. Classified Crow.
Raymond (18), Donald (14)

28. Tom, Peter (20). Early orphaned, he was taken as a partner by Louis Maza. His parents were Slave and Mrs. Man is his paternal grandmother. Classified Crow.

29. Wiley, Irene (17). An Upper Liard Indian who is a quarter Cree. She was deserted by her Frances Lake husband. Most of the year she lives with her stepfather's brother, River Joe.

[42] Below, pp. 326–330.
[43] Below, pp. 354–356.
[44] Below, pp. 340–350.

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●115 Each of the Wiley girls listed below has had a different father; eventually the half-Cree mother (a sister of Old Man's first two wives) married River Joe's brother, Old Wiley. Irene's baby is illegitimate. Wolf.

Irma (2)

30. Wiley, Mary (20). Originally a quarter Cree Upper Liard Indian, she moved to the Cross trap line with her husband who died in 1945. She now lives with her brothers-in-law and cares for a three year old sister, Charlotte. Wolf.

31. Wiley, Stella (22). She is a quarter white, a quarter Cree, and half Kaska. In 1944 she was widowed and also lost a son. Wolf.

Laura (3); Anne (6), who was adopted by Mildred Lang

FIELD NOTES ON THE TAHLTAN AND KASKA INDIANS: 1912-15

by

J. A. Teit

PREFACE

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[122] The following information on the Tahltan was obtained by me in the fall of 1912 and during the summer of 1915 when I investigated the general ethnology of the tribe and collected information on their traditions, language, songs, etc., for the Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada. Incidentally I had gathered a little information whilst hunting big game in their country during a period of several years prior to 1912. Most of this information has been published in the Boas Anniversary volume. A brief report of my work among the Tahltan in 1912 was published in the Summary Report of the Geological Survey of Canada for 1912.

115 The information on the Kaska was obtained during the summer of 1915, when I also collected traditions, songs, etc., from this tribe, and additional information on the Tahltan and other neighboring tribes. Most of the information from the Kaska I obtained at the foot of Dease Lake, my chief informants being Albert Dease and his wife. The Tahltan information was collected for the most part at Telegraph Creek from Dandy Jim, who was specially selected by the tribe to give me the desired information, partly because of his superior knowledge of English and partly because he was considered to be of superior intelligence and one of the best posted persons in the tribe. However, I obtained some information from several other individuals of both sexes of the Tahltan and neighboring tribes, particularly from Big Jackson, Slim Jim, Dennis Hyland, Bear Lake Billy, Ned Teit, etc. I also received information on certain points from George Adsit, who has lived a number of years among the Tahltan and can speak their language. (He has also a knowledge of Cree and at least some knowledge of the Athapaskan dialects spoken by the tribes lying between the Cree and Tahltan, having lived among the Indians in this little-known region for several years.)

Albert Dease is a pure Kaska and probably the most prominent member of these people living in the Dease region, being looked upon as Chief. 115

Dandy Jim is a well known Tahltan noted for his affability and intelligence. He speaks the best English of any of the older Tahltan and also speaks Tlingit fluently. He is a member of the Nalakoten or Nahlin clan of the Raven Phratry.

INTRODUCTION - Nahani Tribal Divisions

The Tahltan and Kaska belong to the Déné or Northern group of the great Athapaskan family and linguistically are part of the division of this stock known as the Nahani. The two tribes speak closely related dialects and are neighbors. Their territories lie in the north-western interior of British Columbia generally speaking between the Cascade or Coast range of mountains in the West and the main Liard river to the East, and between latitudes 56° and 60° north. They form an extension of the Nahani to the south west, appearing as a point or wedge between the Tlingit to the west and northwest and the Nishga /Niska/ and Retikshen to the south (See map*). To the north is the main body of the Nahani, and to the east and southeast /are/ tribes of other divisions of the Déné. As the Tahltan and Kaska are the only occupants of Nahani south of latitude 60°, or at least the only Nahani tribes with headquarters south of 60° in British Columbia they may be named for convenience the Southern Nahani. The rest of the Nahani occupy a wide stretch of country extending north to at least between latitudes 64° - 65° north and, according to my present information, consist of some six recognized tribes or rather divisions speaking slightly divergent dialects. I have not as yet been able to determine the degree of divergence in the various dialects but if what information I have can be depended on in many cases the differences of dialect are slight, or less than between the Tahltan and Kaska. 101 131 197 131 197

The exact number and names of the Nahani divisions, it seems, can never be known exactly or definitely until most of the country occupied by them has been visited and the northern bands interviewed. So far I have been among the southern bands only. Other things which render the subject difficult and 101

* Map to appear in one of the forthcoming issues.

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"Nice fellow to anybody [i.e., everybody]" (tenametii?a?etiia). This person was suffused with warmth toward all his neighbors. He was universally liked. "People in the old days used to think about each other rather than talk to each other." 828

"Tell them about anything man" (?utetciitena). A talkative person or gossip is indicated.

"Crazy man" (tena?atutatii). Such an individual played many jokes on his neighbors and teased other people. "He told young girls he's going to marry them." Few people belonged in this category and rarely did old people demonstrate such behavior. Our chief informant, Old Man, tended to manifest this kind of humor.

"Mind about woman" (e?uteniitciitsuna). Refers to a man so preoccupied with the thought of women and sex that he could not apply himself to hunting and other work. In other words we have here the rake.

"He gets around all right this little man" (tatzile eytintena su?ate). A fellow who just got by in the course of making his living.

"Poor man" (etuyatiieyitiniitena). People were kind to an unfortunate person of this type. If, after a suitable period of aid, he failed to make his own living their assistance might be discontinued. In return for receiving aid a person should help his benefactor, for example by visiting deadfalls. We have here the germ of specialization and the kind of relationship found in the Plains where poor men served rich patrons.

"Lazy man" (katsatsetena). He lacked both knowledge and skill and wasted much potentially productive time.

"Lazy man starving" (tenakatsatsetena seklii). "You helped him, gave him nets, and what he needed. Pretty soon his wife came back and said that they're starving."

"Full of prunes man" (?utsiiyiitena). A person who boasted but without telling the truth. People disliked a liar and tended to ignore the windbag to whom this designation refers.

INFORMANTS

The informants to be identified did not themselves experience directly all of the aboriginal lifeways which they recounted. In some cases, of course, aboriginal patterns have survived to contemporary or near contemporary times. Of these the informants enjoyed first hand knowledge. Other data, however, were verbally transmitted to living persons by parents and grandparents. Where such information is involved time has often fogged memories and distorted facts. If any value is seen in ethnographic reconstruction, such facts nevertheless must be accepted with a measure of caution and preserved. No great gift of prophecy is required to point out that the pace of culture change in the North is bringing about a rapid displacement of aboriginal tradition so that in the near future generations will grow up without understanding the culture of their forefathers. 115 121

Because a number of the informants employed to complete this reconstruction also served as subjects of a somewhat intimate, psychologically oriented, contemporary community study[48] the actual identity of these field assistants must be concealed. The 115

[48] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949).

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115 following names are keyed by initials. Wherever it seems pertinent in the course of this monograph, the source of information is designated by the initials of the informant.

Jack Abou (A) is the true name of an early middle aged man who, like so many Indians, has for several years been troubled with failing eyesight. Doctors could do little for him beyond recommending spectacles. His great wish was to earn enough money by trapping to be able to visit an optician at Whitehorse. Jack's father was a Tselona. His mother, probably a Sekani, came from McLeod Lake. He served briefly to provide information about the Tselona tribe. The fact that he had to travel far to reach his trap line and therefore quit Lower Post early in the fall limited his usefulness.

Old Man (O) proved to be our most valuable informant. A genial, highly cooperative, 50-year old Upper Liard Indian, his paternal grandparents were Tlingit and his maternal grandfather an Upper Liard Indian. His father was born at Ross River and after his marriage moved to the country of the Upper Liard. Old Man possessed a high intelligence. His long association with white men had further given him a fair knowledge of English and a relatively objective perspective on Indian life. He was completely trustworthy, although there remains the danger that some of the patterns he reported (for example warfare) pertain more closely to the Teslin Lake and upper Taku River people than to the Upper Liard dwellers and may even represent traditions heard from his Tlingit grandfather.

River Joe (RJ) served as another reporter of aboriginal Upper Liard River life. Pretentious and not overly bright, he was not one of our most valuable assistants. He stems from Taku (possibly Chilkat) parentage.

Skipper (S), a man of about 60, constituted one of the main sources of information concerning the Dease River people. Generally he was a taciturn person, a quality that made him difficult to work with. At one time he had been suspected of killing a white man and stealing the latter's fur. Investigation, however, had failed to prove his guilt. It is not likely that Skipper deliberately lied during his relationship with the anthropologist but for some reason he showed a propensity to assent readily when various possible traits were brought to his attention with the query whether he had heard of them in the Dease River valley. Dubious cases were rechecked whenever possible.

Willy Tsiga (WT), the true name of a 45-year old man, served as a second informant for the Dease River basin. His father was a Tlingit Indian. Serving as an informant manifestly augmented his pride. In effort he made up what he may have lacked in the way of developed intellectual ability.

Xavier (X) volunteered briefly to contribute data for the Upper Liard area. About 70 years old, he migrated west from Fort Simpson at a very early age and later married an Upper Liard woman. His parents were perhaps Espatotena. Of all informants he seemed to retain the greatest emotional involvement with aboriginal supernaturalism. His conversation was most rewarding when informal.